

1964

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

7901

to Singer Bowl, where President Johnson is scheduled to participate at the ceremonies on opening day, April 22.

SIXTEEN THOUSAND ARE INVITED

Sixteen thousand guests—diplomats, political figures and prominent members of the Nation's business and social communities—have been invited to attend the ceremonies in Singer Bowl.

Mr. Moses' stand against the planned demonstrations was firm:

"As to threatened demonstrations at the fair on opening day, with the cooperation of the city police, the rights access, free movement and comfort of our numerous fair visitors from all parts will be fully protected.

"The fair will not become a stage for irresponsible interference with visitors, secondary boycotts, and demonstrations not related to the proper conduct of the fair.

"There has been no claim of discrimination by the fair."

In the meantime, intense police preparations have been made to deal with the threatened integration demonstrations on opening day.

A number of conferences are being held between officials of the city's police department and officers of the fair's large private police force, a division of Pinkerton's National Detective Agency.

"We expect that the fair police force will be able to handle most things that go on inside the fair," Capt. James F. Hannon, commanding the 110th precinct, said. "But if they need help we're prepared to give them what they need."

REINFORCEMENTS PLANNED

The 110th precinct, at 94-41 43d Avenue in Elmhurst, Queens, will be "substantially beefed up" for the fair season a spokesman for the police department said.

"We're ready to handle anything that happens inside or outside the fair," he added.

Although the details of the police plan are being kept secret, it is considered likely that security forces will concentrate on the Maryland Pavilion, because of the threat of a demonstration there and its proximity to Singer Bowl.

"People will come to the fair to have a good time," said John J. Manning, executive of Pinkerton's World's Fair division. "We hope that everyone will keep to that spirit. We don't want any trouble and if any arises we will try to be gently persuasive.

Captain Hannon emphasized that integration leaders were aware of the problems faced by the police department in handling demonstrations and were usually cooperative.

But the first integration demonstration at the fair, which took place Saturday, resulted in 30 arrests, including that of the Reverend Dr. Milton A. Galamison, leader of a sit-in that blocked one of the main entrances to the fair.

During that demonstration 25 of the arrests were made by the city police just outside the fairgrounds. The five others were made by the fair's private police.

Acting as peace officers, the private police force can make arrests within the fairgrounds. Any persons arrested will then be turned over by the Pinkerton officers to the city police at the 110th precinct.

The Pinkerton guards at the fair are armed with both nightsticks and pistols. There are 700 of these men charged with police and firefighting responsibilities in the fairgrounds. They have undergone and are undergoing rigorous training.

More than 1,000 other Pinkerton agents will be on duty inside various pavilions as guards and guides for those pavilions.

Although there has been no formal enunciation of policy, a high fair official said that he felt that peaceful picketing within the fair would be allowed.

"But if they block main bus routes inside the fair, they will have to be arrested," he said.

The national office for CORE has not as yet announced its plan for the World's Fair protests.

"There will be a policy meeting on the matter on Saturday," a spokesman for the national office said, "and plans will be announced after the meeting."

But CORE groups from Baltimore and Prince Georges County in Maryland said that they would participate on opening day and sent a letter to Mayor Wagner advising him of their participation.

The Brooklyn CORE Chapter also announced its plan in advance of the national policy meeting.

A spokesman for the group, when asked how much gasoline would be needed to stall an automobile in the vicinity of the fair, said that the matter was under consideration.

"We'll work it out," he added.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. THURMOND. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to yield to the distinguished Senator from Louisiana with the understanding that I do not lose my right to the floor, and that upon resuming, I shall not be charged with another speech on this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator discussing the situation concerning the unauthorized strike at the World's Fair?

Mr. THURMOND. That is correct. I was discussing the plans of CORE, and also the demonstrations to be held by CORE and NAACP.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator discussing the situation that exists, in which a single chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality feels that it is in a position to shut off traffic for the entire city of New York, whether the national organization approves it or not? Is it not correct that the national organization of the Congress of Racial Equality and the national organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have not authorized a strike, but that this is one of many wildcat strikes that we can anticipate?

Mr. THURMOND. The Senator is correct. In fact, the three CORE chapters in New York, as I understand, will go against the wishes, perhaps, of their national organization—at least its outwardly expressed wishes—to conduct the demonstrations against the opening of the World's Fair, planning to congest traffic by having hundreds of automobiles run out of gasoline. One of the officials in New York stated at that time that it would take a week to untangle the mess because tow cars would have to take the cars out, which would be difficult to do and it would create a terrific problem.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a question?

Mr. THURMOND. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is not the Senator familiar with the Supreme Court decision which states that if one is strik-

ing for the cause of civil rights, law enforcement agencies have no right to interfere?

Mr. THURMOND. It will be interesting to see what happens. The city officials in New York have stated that they will handle the matter. The demonstrators have indicated—the CORE chapters especially, in spite of the outwardly expressed wishes of the national organization—that they intend to go ahead.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I am glad to yield under the same conditions stipulated.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator familiar with the sitdown strike on the Triborough Bridge which tied up the whole city of New York for about 3 hours recently?

Mr. THURMOND. Yes, I am familiar with that situation.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator also familiar with the fact that when that strike was called, the police were so afraid of the situation that it practically required an injunction to the Supreme Court to get the power to lay hold of the seven Negroes and haul them away from the traffic?

Mr. THURMOND. Yes; the law enforcement officers are baffled. In a great many places they appear to be baffled. They do not know how far they can go. They do not know whether they can touch these people or lift them up bodily or what they can do.

I understand that in various parts of the country—not in the South alone, but in other parts as well—they are using cattle prods, sticks with a little electricity in them, which seem to move the demonstrators along.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator familiar with the fact that the prod sticks have been described as cattle prod sticks because they have been used on cattle? Is the Senator further familiar with the fact that the prod sticks are not designed for cattle but are designed for exactly the kind of "animals" that they are touching; namely, reluctant human beings who insist on getting in the way of a policeman?

Mr. THURMOND. The demonstrators are certainly conducting themselves in a most unbecoming manner when they lie down in the streets and will not move. It seems to me that a stick of that kind might be appropriately used. There is not very much electricity in one. I remember once going through a secret organization ceremonial—a fraternal organization. There was a man after me with one of those sticks, and I ran for about 100 yards. I had to run fast to keep ahead of that stick because while it mostly tickled, it tickled pretty much. It would force one to move—it does not hurt anyone—but it is a practical means of getting these people to move on.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I am glad to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can the Senator recall some of the nationwide publicity which shed so many crocodile tears over the fact that someone got his pants torn from walking into a police dog, when the police dog was on a leash? Is the Senator also familiar with the fact that the whole idea of having a police dog is that the dog does not know whether a demonstrator is striking for civil rights or something else? One has a choice; he can either walk into the police dog, or back away.

Mr. THURMOND. From what I have read about demonstrations, it appears that some of the demonstrators want to be bitten by dogs, they want a policeman to strike them or use force against them. They would then become great heroes. They would be taken to other parts of the country and shown off as exhibits. They could charge fees to people to come in and see them, and they could collect dues from new members to their organizations.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Has the Senator heard about the situation in which police dogs were used against Louisiana State University students who had demonstrated in favor of victory over "Ole Miss"?

Mr. THURMOND. I heard that police dogs were used, but I did not know the circumstances.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. There was also a football game between two great State universities, and LSU students wanted to parade without a permit. The traffic could not get through, so the police had to use police dogs to get the students out of the way so that the traffic could move. Has the Senator heard about that situation?

Mr. THURMOND. Does the Senator mean to say that the police used police dogs against white students?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. That was the situation.

Mr. THURMOND. It would be difficult to get certain people to believe that would it not? They believe that police dogs are used only against Negroes. Is that not correct?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Did the Senator read an account of that kind in Time magazine or Life magazine? The sheriff—who, incidentally, had been president of the National Sheriffs' Association—used police dogs to make the LSU students quit blocking the highways.

Mr. THURMOND. I do not believe I saw any pictures of that incident, or any articles in any of the leading magazines or periodicals in this country. Did such an article ever appear in any of those news media?

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator from South Carolina yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is it not fair to ask why nothing appeared about it, when the whole country had to do a "flip-flop" because some Negroes insisted on tangling with a police dog in

Birmingham, Ala.? Why did the country not have to do a "flip-flop" when the sheriff used police dogs to get LSU students out of a four-lane highway?

Mr. THURMOND. Perhaps they thought the police dogs would not harm the white students but would bite the Negro students. I cannot imagine any other reason, because if a police dog bites a student, it should be news as much to one race as to another. The whole point is, as the Senator knows, that the so-called civil rights bill is politically inspired. Its purpose is to gain bloc votes. The proponents are trying to show that Negroes are treated badly and treated unjustly, that they cannot vote, that they cannot go to school, that they have no opportunities. The charges they make are of course false and unjust.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Is the Senator aware of the so-called FEPC provision in the bill?

Mr. THURMOND. Yes, of course; that is title VII of the bill.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Does not that section proceed on the basis that a person must not discriminate in employment, and that if discrimination were eliminated, presumably that would help the colored man get a job?

Mr. THURMOND. That is the assumption, I believe, upon which it is predicated. The bill does not create any new jobs. I do not know of any new jobs these people will take, unless it be to take other Negroes' jobs or white people's jobs.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Has this thought ever occurred to the Senator: If we are to give written tests, to see who gets a job, the chances are that the Jewish people will place ahead of both the Negroes and the white gentiles. Next, I suppose, would come the gentiles, with the Asiatics and the orientals getting their fair quota, but the last poor fellow to get a job under that procedure would be the Negro.

Mr. THURMOND. Generally, the Senator may be correct. If capability or ability tests, were used, that could be generally true.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. That is the kind of test one would take in a college or school under those circumstances? But this is not the way to have a poor Negro get a job. This is something to "confidence" him out of it.

Mr. THURMOND. They are telling him that he will get a job if this bill passes, which will make him feel that people will be forced to give him a job. If the bill passes, it might be that under certain circumstances they will be forced to give jobs to some of them.

In my opinion it would be a great injustice to the Negro to obtain employment under such circumstances, because if his employment proved unsatisfactory, which it is bound to be in a great many cases, there would be a backlash, and we would see a slowing down of production and inefficiency; we would see sentiment aroused against Negroes that otherwise would not exist. That would come about

because Negroes would be forced into positions they could not fill properly.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. THURMOND. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Did not the Senator have the experience of serving as Governor of his State prior to his coming to the Senate?

Mr. THURMOND. I served as Governor for 4 years.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. During that time did he not observe that the road contractors, who built the highways in his State, perhaps tended to go in one direction or the other; either they used only white people building highways, or they worked with only colored people in building the highways; and that in many instances they seemed to prefer colored people. In many instances the road contractors would prefer not to mix the races. The result was that the colored workers would get all the jobs, and not merely a part of them.

Mr. THURMOND. That has been the case on many occasions.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Did that not amount to discrimination against the Negroes?

Mr. THURMOND. I would not say discrimination. It was a matter of the employer choosing his own employees. If he prefers Negroes he should have the right to hire them. If he prefers white people, he should have the right to hire them. Under the proposed FEPC law, such a practice would probably be discrimination, provided we knew what was meant by discrimination. The bill does not define discrimination. Therefore, a bureaucrat in Washington will have to determine what discrimination is. We do not know whether he will say that employment must be racially balanced, or whether he will follow some other criterion. I do not know.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Has the Senator from South Carolina heard about the effort of the antidiscrimination committee to integrate the highway crews in Southern States?

Mr. THURMOND. I have heard something about it, but I have no first-hand information on it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. In the State of Louisiana, in the construction of highways, Negroes have 80 percent of the jobs. Notwithstanding that fact, we are being asked to sign contracts providing that we will not discriminate. If we do not discriminate, we must fire the poor Negroes because they have 80 percent of the jobs. Is that not correct?

Mr. THURMOND. If the matter were to be dealt with on a proportionate basis, according to population, it would be necessary to discharge a number of Negroes and give their jobs to white people.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. It is not fair to say, if we were to try to deal with this problem on a racial balance basis—and that seems to be a popular term today—it would be necessary to discharge two-thirds of the Negroes working on the highways?

Mr. THURMOND. That is correct. That is what would happen.

1964

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

7903

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Does it not make sense, if a person prefers to employ Negroes, that he be permitted to employ them?

Mr. THURMOND. I agree that a man should be permitted to operate his own private business in the way he wishes. He should also be permitted to hire all white people, if he wishes to do that; or all Chinese, or all Filipinos, or people of any other race; or to hire some of each.

He should be permitted to hire people in whatever proportion he wants to hire them.

Our Government was founded on the theory of freedom. That is why our forefathers came to this continent years ago. They came here seeking freedom. When we deny a man the right to choose his own employees for his own business, we are denying him a very vital right of freedom. He knows better than anyone else what kind of people he wants to have work with him in his line of work.

A few days ago I gave the illustration of two people applying for a job. I said the first man came into the place of business 1 minute before the other man. He was only average. He was average in appearance. His intellect was average. His ingenuity was average. His energy and his imagination were average. He was average from any standpoint anyone wishes to use. His loyalty might be in question. There might be some question as to whether he would be true to his employer. He might even be a political enemy.

If the bill were passed, that man would have to be hired instead of the other man, who came to the place of business 1 minute later.

The second man had a fine appearance. He was very intelligent and imaginative. He had a great deal of ingenuity and a great deal of energy and imagination. He was even an intimate friend of the employer, and was loyal to him.

Yet the employer would not be allowed to choose this top man. The employer would have to take the mediocre man, merely because he had applied a minute earlier. In that way we would be destroying the basic rights of the American people.

This system would not only hurt white people. It would hurt Negro people also. In my State—and I am sure the same is true in the State of the able Senator from Louisiana—there are Negro undertakers, who employ a great many people. There are also some Negro insurance companies and Negro banks. Many of those businesses would be put in the same position.

There are a great many manufacturing plants in my State and a number of garment factories whose rolls are all Negro. Those factories employ several hundred Negro women.

Another plant is being built in another county that will be all Negro.

If the bill is passed, they will have to integrate, and they will not be able to give those Negroes all the jobs. There is hardly a week that passes that an effort is not being made in my State—and I am sure it is true in the other Southern States also—to try to provide more jobs for Negroes.

I am eager to see everyone do well. To force a man to hire anyone in his private business against his wishes or to force him to hire one person instead of another, and for the Government to take the position that he must hire one man over another, is unwise, impracticable, and unconstitutional.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. THURMOND. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Has the Senator had occasion to make a study to see whether there was a higher percentage of Negroes out of work in Southern States than in FEPC States?

Mr. THURMOND. I believe the Record shows, according to some figures that were brought out in colloquy, that there is a larger percentage of Negroes out of work in States that have FEPC laws than in States that do not have FEPC laws.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield further?

Mr. THURMOND. I am pleased to yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Can the Senator find anything in this so-called civil rights bill, in which our lovable friends, who seek to help the colored man, are offering to share Federal jobs with fine colored people who are looking for jobs?

Mr. THURMOND. I have not heard of it.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Or make available jobs as postmasters, rural carriers, collectors of customs, or any other good paying jobs?

Mr. THURMOND. I have not heard of any. If there has been any information along that line, it has not come to my attention.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Does it not occur to the Senator that if the fine people from States which have practically no Negroes in their population want to bring about some progress, all they need to do is to import some Negroes, to find out what one looks like, before they try to solve our problems for us?

Mr. THURMOND. The trouble is that those people think they know how to solve the problem much better than we do. They have not dealt with the problem. They do not know what the problem is in a State that has 30 percent or 40 percent colored, as does the State from which the Senator comes, or some other State in the South. I believe the South has done very well by the Negro. The Negro has made more progress in America than any other minority race has made in the history of any other nation.

The Negro has made more progress in America than he has made in any other country in the world. Is not that fact worth considering? Late last summer there was the march on Washington for jobs and freedom. Pictures of that march were sent all over the world. Some people in this country, even some Government agencies, such as the USIA, spread information that indicated that Negroes were mistreated or did not have jobs, or that there was racial prejudice or social injustice in this country. Why do they not change that picture and tell some of the truth about what the Negroes

enjoy in this country? The world should be told that Negroes in America are better off than people in any other country.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Madam President, will the Senator yield for a further question?

Mr. THURMOND. I yield.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Would it not be fair to ask what kind of fix the colored folks would be in if they had not been brought to this country, but had been allowed to roam the jungles, with tigers chasing them, or being subjected to the other elements they would have to contend with, compared with the fine conditions they enjoy in America?

Mr. THURMOND. Of course, the Negroes are much better off as a result of their coming to this country. The progress they have made has not been the result of activities on the part of people who are seeking votes by defending the so-called civil rights legislation. The people who are primarily responsible for the progress of the Negroes are the southern people, because the South is where most of the Negroes have lived until recent years. The South has had this problem. It is familiar with it and has had to bear it. The people of the South have borne up bravely. They have done much for the Negroes, especially in view of the economic condition brought about by Reconstruction.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Has the Senator during the course of his lifetime known a number of Negro families for whom he had the warmest feelings of friendship and affection?

Mr. THURMOND. Of course. I know many of them now. I have loaned money and given money to many of them. At this time, I am lending money to several to enable them to go to school or college.

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. There has always been Negro help in my home from the day I was born. Some people even believe I am left-handed today because a sweet colored woman carried me around in her left arm while she did housework for my mother with her right arm.

Does the Senator believe that northern people, who do not know what the feelings of the colored people are, have any more interest in the colored people than have the southern people?

Mr. THURMOND. On the whole, I do not believe that they have as much interest. The southern people have warm affection for the Negro. They understand the Negroes and have tried to help them. The South has provided excellent schools for them. In my State—and I understand the same situation exists in other Southern States—the schools for the Negroes are as good and sometimes better than the schools for the whites, because they are newer schools and provide many opportunities in various fields of endeavor. The only thing the Negro today has to do to advance is to prepare himself by getting an education or becoming skilled. I do not know of a skilled person today, white or Negro, who cannot obtain employment. Some people make it appear that Negroes cannot obtain employment. They must be able